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EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY FROM SCALI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UN XA

SUBJ: NON-ALIGNED ATTITUDE ON US POSITIONS

- 1. WE HAVE BEEN DISTURBED BY INCREASING TENDENCY OF "NON-ALIGNED" DELEGATIONS, PARTICULARLY AFRICANS, TO VOTS AS BLOC IN OPPOSITION TO US POSITIONS. SOMETIMES THEIR POSITIONS ARE BASED ON PRINCIPLE OR ON HONEST ANALYSIS OF INTEREST. ALL TOO OFTEN, HOWEVER, AFRICANS AND OTHERS JUSTIFY THEIR VOTES AND THEIR HOSTILE VERBIAGE BY REFERENCES TO ALGIERS NAC DECISIONS OR NON-ALIGNED GROUP SOLIDARITY HERE.
- 2. TYPICALLY, THESE DELEGATIONS SEEM TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT WE SHOULD INSTANTLY RECOGNIZE THAT A POSITION BASED ON THIS BLOC APPROACH IS UNARGUABLE. ON KOREA AND CAMBODIA, FOR INSTANCE, MANY NON-ALIGNEDS HAVE SHOWN LITTLE OR NO REAL INTEREST IN MERITS OF ISSUES. STATES CLOSE TO US BILATERALLY WHICH ARE RECIPIENTS OF SUBSTANTIAL US AID SOMETIMES SHOW NO EMBARRASSMENT IN TAKING HOSTILE POSITIONS WHEN SUCH HOSTILITY IS PRESCRIBED BY MORE MILITANT OF NON-ALIGNED.
- 3. SUCH DELEGATIONS SEEM TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT HOSTILITY TO OUR POSITIONS, WHEN DEFENSIBLE ON NON-ALIGNED SOLIDARITY GROUNDS, WILL NOT PROVOKE CRITICISM FROM US, MUCH LESS POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC RETRIBUTION.

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4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT US HAS GENERALLY MAINTAINED FOR MORE THAN A GENERATION THAT OUR ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN WITHOUT STRINGS. EVEN SO, DURING YEARS FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II, BENEFICIARIES OF OUR ASSISTANCE, WHILE

PRESERVING THEIR PRIDE, TENDED TO GIVE DUE WEIGHT IN OUR RELATIONSHIP TO CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF OUR ASSISTANCE. IN UN, THIS NO LONGER SEEMS TO BE THE CASE. WHILE WE CAN HOPE THAT OUR ASSISTANCE TO NEW NATIONS, PARTICULARLY AFRICANS, HAS AND WILL PAY OTHER DIVIDENDS FOR US INTERESTS, IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THESE DIVIDENDS DO NOT INCLUDE SYMPATHETIC PERFORMANCE IN UN FORA. EVEN COUNTRIES CURRENTLY RECEIVING CRITICAL EMERGENCY OR OTHER HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FROM US OPPOSE US ON ISSUES INTRINSICALLY UNIMPORTANT TO THEMSELVES, AND OF KNOWN IMPORTANCE TO US.

5. USUN RECOMMENDS THAT DEPT SUBMIT WHOLE RANGE OF SUCH RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL DIPLOMACY TO FUNDAMENTAL REVIEW. FROM UN IT WOULD APPEAL THAT THE TWO CANNOT BE TREATED SEPARATELY WITHOUT CREATING INTOLERABLE ANOMALIES. IN MAKING REVIEW WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT IT COULD BE ENLIGHTENING FOR ALL CONCERNED IF DEPT WERE TO RAISE THIS BASIC PROBLEM IN WASHINGTON WITH SELECTED, KEY AND KNOWLEDGEABLE AMBASSADORS FROM NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WHO WOULD PRESUMABLY BE MORE SENSITIVE TO EFFECTS OF MULTILATERAL HOSTILITY ON BILATERAL RELATIONS.

6. CAN WE NOT EMPHASIZE TO SMALLER NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WHO ARE BENEFICIARIES OF OUR AID THAT SUCH COOPERATION OCCURS ON TWO-WAY STREET; THAT WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO ACCEPT ARGUMENT THAT COUNTRY WHICH AGREES WITH OUR POSITION IS UNABLE TO VOTE WITH US BECAUSE OF PSYCHOLOGY OF MOB; THAT RITUAL HOSTILITY TO US IN INTERNATIONAL FORA IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH CLOSE ECONOMIC COOPERATION; AND THAT BLIND OR MYOPIC ACCEPTANCE OF SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS IS IN FACT THE VERY OPPOSITE OF TRUE NON-ALIGNED STANCE? PERHPAS FRIEND WINSTON LORD AND HIS STAFF MIGHT EXAMINE THIS PROBLEM IN DEPTH AND SUGGEST SOME NEW ANSWERS.

NOTE BY OC/T: STADIS AND EXDIS ADDED PER S/S-O, MISS ELTZ, 11/19/73. CONFIDENTIAL

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